1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

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266 ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

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[103] The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohátink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

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184 There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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road leading to Wyoming, which is called *the Hermit's Field*, and of which the following account is given. A short time before the white people came into Pennsylvania, a woman from some cause or other had separated herself from society, and with her young son, had taken her abode in this swamp, where she remained undiscovered until the boy grew up to manhood, procuring a livelihood by the use of the bow and arrow, in killing deer, turkeys and other animals, planting corn and vegetables, and gathering and curing nuts and berries of various kinds. When after her long seclusion she again saw Indians, she was much astonished to find them dressed in European apparel. She had become so attached to her place of abode, that she again returned thither and remained there for several years. I was shewn by the Indians in the year 1765, and often afterwards, the corn hills that she had made; the ground, being a stiff clay, was not wasted or worn down, but was covered with bushes, and the traces of the labour of the female hermit were plainly discoverable.

Thus the Indians will support themselves in the midst of the greatest difficulties, never despairing of their fate, but trusting to their exertions, and to the protection of the Almighty Being who created them.

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. -Awa'ist]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven and have such excellent game in abundance.

The other two tribes, the *Unamis* or Tortoise, and the *Unalachtigos* or Turkey, have much similar notions, but reject the story of the lake, which, seems peculiar to the Minsi tribe.

These notions must be very far extended among the Indians of North America generally, since we find that they prevail also among the Iroquois, a nation so opposed to the Delawares, as has been shewn in the former parts of this work, and whose language is so different from theirs, that not two words, perhaps, similar or even analogous of signification may be found alike in both. On this subject I beg leave to present an extract from the manuscript notes of the late Reverend Christopher Pyrlæus, whom I am always fond of quoting with respect, as he was a man of great truth, and besides well acquainted with the Six Nations and their idioms.* The account that he here gives of the traditions of that people concerning their original existence, was taken down by him in January 1743, from the mouth of a respectable Mohawk chief named *Sganarady*, who resided on the Mohawk river.

The Extract.

"*Traditio.*—That they had dwelt in the earth where "it was dark and where no sun did shine. That though "they followed hunting, they ate mice, which they caught "with their hands. That *Ganawagahha* (one of them) "having accidentally found a hole to get out of the earth

* Mr. Pyrlæus lived long among the Iroquois and was well acquainted with their language. He was instructed in the Mohawk dialect by the celebrated interpreter Conrad Weiser. He has left behind him some manuscript grammatical works on that idiom, one of them is entitled: *Affixa nominum et verborum Linguæ Macquaicæ*, and another; *Adjectiva, nomina et pronomina Linguæ Mucquaicæ*. These MSS. are in the library of the Society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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call "the *spring* month," May, the *planting* month, June, the *fawn* month, or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or, again, the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish colour. They call July the *summer* month; August, the month of *roasting ears*, that is to say, in which the ears of corn are fit to be roasted and eaten. September, they call the *autumnal* month, October, the gathering or *harvest* month; December, the *hunting* month, it being the time when the stags have all dropped their antlers or horns. January is called the *mouse* or *squirrel* month, for now those animals come out of their holes, and lastly, they call February the *frog* month, because on a warm day the frogs then begin to croak.

Some nations call the month of January by a name which denotes "the sun's return to them," probably because in that month the days begin to lengthen again. As I have said before, they do not all call the months by the same name; even the Monseys, a tribe of the Delawares, differ among themselves in the denominations which they give to them.

The Indians say that when the leaf of the white oak, which puts forth in the spring, is of the size of the ear of a mouse, it is time to plant corn; they observe that now the whipperwill has arrived, and is continually hovering over them calling out his Indian name "*Wekolis*," in order to remind them of the planting time, as if he said to them "*Huckiheck!* go to planting corn!"

They calculate their ages by some remarkable event which has taken place within their remembrance, as, for instance, an uncommonly severe winter, a very deep snow, an extraordinary freshet, a general war, the building of a new town or city by the white people, &c. Thus I have heard old Indians say more than fifty years ago, that when their brother Miquon spoke to their forefathers, they were of such an age or size, they could catch butterflies, or hit a bird with the bow and arrow. I have

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

in religion. According to Speck's exhaustive monograph composed from one informant's data on the Big House Ceremony in the early 1930's, the last full or "real" ceremony was held during the fall of 1924.[5] Since the Delawares knew that this ceremony was in danger of dying out, they attempted to put young people in "important positions" and in positions of leadership (R.W.). An abbreviated Big House Ceremony was, in fact, performed during the second World War.[6]

The wartime Big House Ceremonies were held three times: in the spring of 1944, the following fall, and just before the conclusion of the European War in the spring of 1945. The traditional season for the ceremony was the fall, but two of these meetings were held in the spring. R.W. said that the first one was held in the spring because of the seriousness of the war. No explanation was given for the final spring meeting. The meetings were held in order to induce the supernatural powers to provide a quick victory for the United States and to ensure the return of the Delaware soldiers unharmed. The purpose of the meetings, then, was within the traditional pattern. Many people remain convinced of the efficacy of these meetings; after all, the War was over shortly after the last meeting, and no Delaware servicemen were killed on the fields of battle.

The wartime ceremonies were held on a farm a few miles north of Dewey. The Big House itself was built of bark and canvas and was an arbor rather than a house (O.A.). The old log "church" or "meeting house" fell into disrepair sometime after the ceremony of 1924, and no trace of it exists today. The carved heads (Mesingkwa) and other paraphernalia had been removed and sold to museums by J.F.[7] Joe Washington was the leader, at least during the last two meetings; other men who played important parts were Ben Hill, Jim Thompson, and Reuben Wilson. Joe Washington tried to arouse interest and continuance of the ceremony by explaining in the Delaware language what they were doing and why they were doing it. This attempt was rewarded with little success.

The Delawares did not camp at the Big House, as was customary, but came to the ceremonies every evening. It was said that "lots of the younger people didn't go." They failed to attend either because they thought it "silly" or because they did not understand the Delaware language very well (O.A.). Vision recital, as was customary, played the principal role in the wartime ceremonies. Reuben Wilson, Joe Washington, Ben Hill, and perhaps others recited either their own or traditional visions. The vision recital of these men was ridiculed; it was said that although they might have had visions, they did not have the "power" that the traditional visions gave. In short, "they just went through the motions." "Although they knowed the songs they didn't have the right (spiritual) power" (J.T.). Women traditionally were seldom blessed with visions, but the few who had had them were allowed to recite them on the

[5] Speck, 1931, p. 18; F. W., O.A., R.W.

[6] The Anadarko Delawares never performed the Big House Ceremony. The following account refers only to the Cherokee-Delawares.

[7] I have seen ceremonial equipment in the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa which supposedly came from the Big House. Other material has found its way into the collections of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

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The herbalist, before using herbs previously gathered and dried, performs the same rite of smoking and prayer. If the plants are being gathered for future rather than for immediate use, an appeal is made to the Creator to bless the plants and render the remedies effective in curing the future ills of his grandchildren.

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The custom of offering prayers before the gathering and preparation of medicinal plants is not observed exclusively by the medicine men but is known to every Delaware. However, it was remarked that many fail to adhere to the ancient rite.

In observing Witapanóxwe I was charmed by the delicate and reverential manner in which he handled the plants secured and arranged for this study. At this time he emphasized the idea of conservation, stating that one should gather only what was needed, and that vegetation in general should not be subjected to ruthless treatment.

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Purity means much to the conservative Delaware and so the pure plants, as taken from Mother Earth, must not be defiled. It is therefore important that in order to avoid contamination no metal should come in contact with plants that are to be used in the treatment of disease. Roots and plants are allowed to dry in the sun, its rays lending them added potency. In this connection it is considered highly beneficial for a convalescing person to lie directly in the sun, so that its strengthenings qualities may be transferred to him. After the process of curing, roots and leaves are prepared by crushing them in a non-metallic receptacle, a stone basin or a wooden mortar being used for the purpose.

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[823]

The herbalist smokes and offers a prayer while the medicine is being prepared and is always careful to stir it in the same direction—from left to right. One should never blow upon the concoction to cool it; to do so would represent an affront to the spirit of the plant.

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The most able practioner will not treat himself when ill, nor a sick member of his family, but always calls upon the service of another.[14]

If an herbalist or sweat doctor, after diagnosing a case, feels that it is beyond his power to effect a cure, he will send the patient to another more capable of treating him successfully. Sometimes a sick person

[14] Zeisberger *(op. cit.* p. 25) "If one should know enough to help himself, being able to prepare *Beson*, and became ill, he will rarely treat himself, having the superstitious belief that what is prepared by himself will be of no benefit. Using what has been prepared by another, he believes, will bring relief."

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

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THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

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I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

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In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

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Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

closer personal relation, as their actions are seen in every sunrise and thunderstorm, and felt in every wind that blows across woodland and prairie. Moreover, as the Creator lives in the twelfth or highest heaven above the earth, it takes twelve shouts or cries to reach his ear. An account of the worship of the Creator will be given later in connection with the description of the Annual Ceremony. The Minsi had similar beliefs, but the current name for the Great Spirit in that dialect today is *Pa''tŭmawas*, interpreted "He who is petitioned," or *Kĕ''tanĭto'wĕt*, "Great Spirit."

It has been frequently stated that the concept of a supreme being or chief of the gods was not known among the American tribes in precolonial times, and that the "Great Spirit" concept, now widely distributed among the Indians, is entirely the result of missionary teaching. This seems to have been the case in some instances, but it is a mistake to assume such a broad statement as a general rule, on *a priori* grounds. To the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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water poured upon the stones; and while the steam rose and the sweathouse grew hotter and hotter the perspiring occupants prayed to their guardian spirits and recited their visions. These finished, with a shout of "There go our prayers to Those Above," the cover was suddenly snatched from the sweathouse so that the steam it had contained rose in a puff. If the steam cloud went straight up into the air it was thought that the prayers would be heard and answered, and that all was well, but if it broke and spread out the people felt that something had gone wrong, and that their prayers were of no avail.

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In endeavoring to explain the presence of such variations of the Annual Ceremony, it should be remembered that the Lenape now in Oklahoma whom the writer has called for convenience "Unami," are not really pure descendants of this tribe, but probably have a large proportion of the blood of the Unala'tko or Unalachtigo, whose dialect, according to Heckewelder, was very similar, and a

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
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smaller proportion of Minsi and even Nanticoke blood. Perhaps then the first form of Annual Ceremony described may have originally been purely Unami, and the second Unalachtigo, or Minsi, or vice versa; but later, when the remnants of these tribes became amalgamated their mixed descendants inherited both forms.

The second form seems to be a variant of the rite mentioned by Zeisberger[49] who describes it as follows:

"A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather, and call *Machtuzin*, meaning 'to perspire.' A sweating-oven is built in the midst of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal of sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796^x twelve times, and the twelfth time, it is said, their cry reached Heaven.

●184 796^x In comparing this form of the Annual Ceremony with that of the Oklahoma Lenape the most noticeable difference is that here no masked impersonator of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn was seen in or about the Big House, the Masks among the Minsi, as with the Iroquois, constituting a society with its own separate rites.

GRAND RIVER VERSION

796^x Such was the version of the great ceremonies given the writer by the Minsi of Munceytown, Ontario, which is similar to, but more detailed in parts than, the account previously obtained from the Delawares of Grand River reserve, published by the writer in the *American Anthropologist*[50] which we will reproduce here. It will be noticed that this description gives fuller information in some places where the first is deficient; so that between this and the preceding account, a good general idea of the Minsi form of the ceremony can be reconstructed. It reads:

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

source for comparison of Delaware ceremonies in general with those of other groups of eastern North America. Casual survey of its salient points will reveal differences and similarities observed in the elements of ceremony so far recorded among Central Algonkian, Iroquois tribes and those of the southeast. It will remain for more intensive study derived from similar summaries made among these groups to determine the position of Delaware ceremonialism in relation to them.

In conjunction with the Delaware series of festivals it is evident that those of the Munsee should be jointly grouped. Harrington's notes on Munsee rites is our principal source. The fact that the Munsee bands still exist in several locations in Canada leaves an open possibility that more detailed and penetrating records of ceremonies of the family or individual order may still be secured. Yet the more thoroughly Christianized condition of the tribe in general may, when the attempt is made, convert this hope to chagrin. This has been the outcome in the case of the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve.

Formal ceremonies have disappeared from the calendar of religious events of the Delaware-Munsee incorporated with the Six Nations of Ontario for almost a century, since the abrupt discontinuation of the rites of the Big House in this band in 1832. This resulted from a successful attack on its creed by the native missionary, G. H. M. Johnson, a Mohawk.[1] There remains little to put on record beyond what knowledge we have, opportunely rescued in 1910–14 and admirably presented by M. R. Harrington in several of his publications referred to in the course of our study. Minor religious performances may still be obtained in descriptive form from the Canadian bands of Munsee and Delawares blended together on several of the reservations, but from a casual survey of these groups, their dialects and history, I am free to

[1] An interesting summary of religious history of the band is compiled by R. R. Whale, of the Brantford, Ontario, Historical Society. Johnson with John Wampum, presumably a Delaware, took axes and destroyed the images in the Long House in the Delaware settlement. Whereupon all the Delawares there were converted.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

agree with Harrington calling them Munsee and treating their ceremonial habits as allied properties of the Munsee tribe as such. Investigation in this direction still remains to be carried on systematically among the Munsee groups, and is being pushed by the author under grants awarded by the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania since 1932. Acknowledgment is made to this body for Grants No. 50 and 93 which were used in beginning Delaware-Munsee research and securing comparative material to elucidate some questions raised in the study of the Oklahoma band.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

original features of a distinct character, or, *b*, that it was in earlier times an uniform ritual which has broken up into variant forms with changes of time and place in the expansion of its influence. For the present time it seems hardly safe to interpret the circumstances that may have contributed to change the manner of its celebration. My impression is at present, nevertheless, that the three social subdivisions of the Nation, Turkey, Tortoise and Wolf, were in an earlier period indistinct areal groups whose fusion created the Nation. The Nanticoke, for instance, have been repeatedly referred to as being of the Wolf identity in the sense of a sub-tribe, and something similar is true of the Mahikan, giving evidence in the direction of the above supposition. As regards the local-group types of the Big House Ceremony, an opportunity to record the version and rulings of the performers as carried on by the Wolf group, would be an important addition to our knowledge of religious history among the eastern tribes. And Joe Washington's dictation of the Wolf group's regulations becomes a necessary task for the future. Through lack of support at the time to undertake this study its completion will have to remain postponed. Washington offered to dictate a full account of the Big House rite as carried on by the Wolf group, and through conference with him the following notes were secured covering some of the particulars in which it differed from the Turkey group rite. His observations bring out a point in question, namely, that the details of the Turkey and the Wolf group ceremony probably differ as much as they do when the Turkey group rite is compared with that of the Munsee recorded in Canada by Harrington.

The Wolf group ceremony lasted only eight days whereas the Turkey group rite as recorded consumed twelve. The last time that the Wolf rite was performed by the father of Joe Washington, he was told not to repeat it unless the spiritual obligation took possession of his mind with such compelling force that he could not decline his mission. He was also enjoined not to give way to the insistency of members of the Wolf group or others of the Nation that the rite be carried out merely to maintain the customs of their respective ancestors.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

A Grease Drinking Ceremony was also possessed and celebrated in the family of Mrs. Jim (Sally) Thompson. As performed by this family the master of ceremonies wore a whole otter-skin suspended upon his back, the otter's head upon his breast in the manner described by Harrington in his section on the Otter Ceremonies. Half Moon thought that the otter skin in the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) was the one formerly belonging to this family.

A word seems to be called for in explanation of the confusion existing in the descriptions we have of the two preceding ceremonies, namely, the Bear or Brush Arbor rite and the Otter rite of the Grease Drinking Ceremony. The similarity of procedure in both cases and the conflicting testimony as regards the style of making the enclosure in which the celebration was carried out, are perplexing enough to cause the Indians as well as the several authorities who have quoted them to be accused of error. My attempt to straighten out the circumstances by questioning the Delawares themselves in Oklahoma resulted in partially clearing up the difficulty. It seems that type ceremonies similar in performance as regards function and general procedure, were customary properties among those families who possessed them either through inheritance or through direct acquisition by the visitation of spirits. In each family possessing a ceremony the details of arrangement and of paraphernalia differed somewhat. Therefore, when we record the traditional narrative of the ceremony as performed by the family of Col. Jackson we get the details that were characteristic of the rite as the particular rules of this family required it to be performed. Again, when the Thompson family, for instance, celebrated its grease-drinking feast the procedure was conducted as tradition had conveyed it in the past through the generations within that family. Again, in one family the ceremony would center about the myth of its relationship with the bear, whence the Bear rite as recorded in the previous chapter. Moreover, in different branches of the family in which the Bear rite was inherited, there could be variations in the procedure and the equipment,

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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as we are told. In another family a grease-drinking feast would be performed to satisfy obligations incurred in some past relationship between its members and the traditional otter. From these circumstances arose variations in rites falling within the same general category, descriptions of which have come down to us in terms of variation. By understanding these to refer to separate performances of the general family feast type among different groups of kinsfolk, the difficulty of treating the conflicting sources is largely minimized. I need hardly add that these ceremonies have fallen out of use in the Nation within the last two generations and so the existing situation in regard to variations among the family types will have to remain uncorrected.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

"A small wooden post is used in case of a man's grave and placed at the head of the grave on the east end. (The head must always be directed toward the sunrise, feet to the west.) A woman's grave is indicated by placing a cross. (See Fig. 5.) A few logs are placed over the grave to keep out 'varminta.'

"Now at the conclusion of the burial, or just before, a little hole must be left in the casket and one cut in the end opposite the head of the wood box also,[13] and the post placed after covering same, then paint the usual designs on posts. The victuals are separated for the pall-bearers and all the relatives. The latter eat apart from the people in general. Just before the feast at the cemetery the speaker calls all the people to the grave and talks—takes up the life of the person and relates the character of the dead person, and if he lived a nice quiet life and tells his chance or her chance to be born into the spiritual world. The life blood remains, but the body goes back to the mother earth, of which we are a part. The belongings of the dead are divided among those who waited on the body, and the food is divided among the four pall-bearers also.

"Now at the announcement the speaker tells them to remember well the eleventh day at the noon hour, all must be ready to offer thanks for the great opportunity to give victuals to their dead kinfolks, as well as giving the hog and other rations which will be offered to the one who departed. That is, he or she eats the last time with his or her living relatives or tribesmen.

"The latter feature belongs to the Munsee division of the Delawares, but a Delaware proper does not have the eleventh day feast. One of the Munsee division may say, in passing threatening jokes, for instance, 'I am going to kill you.' The Munsee will say, 'Well it will cost you two hogs!' That is, it means one hog at the time of burial and the other at the eleventh day feast."

The grave posts referred to are described as being about two feet in height above the ground, which at the head of a man's grave is a single one painted with crosses, at a woman's grave one with a horizontal cross-bar (Fig. 5, *a* and *b*). The crosses it should be added do not stand for the Christian emblem but represent the "Cross-roads" on the path of the spirit to the abode of souls (see pp. 174–7, "Big House Ceremony").

[13] It is important to note that the Delawares are strongly averse to the use of European materials in mortuary constructions. They will not use iron in nailing, nor will they compromise with the past by adopting metal coffins, out of fear that the spirit would be sealed up and unable to reach the "habitation of spirits above." As noted before, when a wooden casket is bought by the progressive Delawares a square hole is cut in it for the exit of the soul-spirit after the event of the feast.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

person buried and his rank in the tribe. In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. The effects of the deceased are taken to the place of burial, the greater part being distributed among those who assist at the burial. As the corpse is let down into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. After the ceremony the mother, grandmother, or some near female relative goes evening and morning to the grave and weeps over it, this continues, with less and less regularity until the mourning period is over. Sometimes food is placed over the grave." [49]

"To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink. The doctors decide, in the case of a meat offering, which animal is to be sacrificed. When the guests are in the dark with no fire assembled an old man offers the meats to the enraged spirits and begs them to be pacified. The old man then communes with the spirits and tells the guests that they have been appeased.

"In the case of drink to be offered the guests assemble and drink together, then someone speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum on it." [50]

Archaeological evidence is not lacking to show that before the historic period the custom of cleaning the bones of the dead and subsequent burial of the skeleton, sometimes in groups forming ossuaries, had penetrated as far north as the neighborhood of New York.[51] The testimony coincides with the tradition among the modern Delawares, recorded by Harrington, that the "Wolf clan" practiced the rite of removing the flesh from the bones of the deceased and later interred the bones with appropriate ceremonies.[52] Lindeström (1654) makes mention of the Delawares stripping the skeleton, disposing of the bones upon a shelf and distributing the property of the deceased among the relatives.[53] These institutions among the Delawares are unquestionably of southern origin, and their introduction as far north as the domain of the Delawares is clearly attributable to the Nanticoke in whose culture they were firmly established at an early period.

[49] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–90.

[50] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[51] A. B. Skinner, "The Lenape Indians of Staten Island," Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, III, 1909, pp. 49–51.

[52] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–4.

[53] Peter Lindeström, "Geographia Americae, 1654–6," ed. by A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1926, pp. 249–51.

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form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952

1930—Anadarko	1952—Dewey
1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony.	1. Participants gather just before ceremony.
2. Road-chief seated people; women on south.	2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south.
3. Oil lamp near altar.	3. No light other than fire.
4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight.	4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time.
5. Crucifix on altar.	5. No crucifix.
6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting.	6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette.
7. Women given only the peyote tea.	7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea.
8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs.	8. Absent.
9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening song.	9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception.
10. Women did not sing.	10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief.
11. No midnight intermission.	11. Midnight intermission.
12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted).	12. Winnebago performed cure on wife.
13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water.	13. Negative.
14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc.	14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer.
15. No breakfast.	15. Breakfast.
16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal.	16. Candy passed before leaving tepee.